

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 304318

NODIS  
FOR AMBASSADOR LOW

FOLLOWING REPEAT GENEVA 09707 ACTION SECSTATE DTD 06 DEC

QTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 9707

NODIS

FOR SCHAUFLE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR RH UK  
SUBJ: DEADLOCK IN NAMIBIA

1. MARK CHONA CALLED ME THIS MORNING IN LONDON TO SAY  
THAT HE HAD AN URGENT MESSAGE TO DELIVER. SHORTLY AFTER  
MY RETURN TO GENEVA, CHONA CAME TO THE MISSION.

2. CHONA REPORTED THAT HE HAD BEEN ON THE TELEPHONE  
WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND, AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS, THEY  
DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA. CHONA WAS IN A GLOOMY  
STATE AS HE RECOUNTED KAUNDA'S MESSAGE. KAUNDA TOLD

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HIM THAT SAM NUJOMA IS EFFECTIVELY IN LUANDA EVEN THOUGH

HE MAKES TRIPS FROM TIME TO TIME TO OTHER AFRICAN CAPITALS INCLUDING LAGOS. NUJOMA HAS BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS AND IS "A CAPTIVE OF THE PROGRAM THEY HAVE FOR HIM." NEITHER THE SOVIETS NOR NUJOMA CARE ABOUT INDEPENDENCE COMING TO NAMIBIA ON DEC 31, 1978. THE QUESTION, CHONA SAID, IS "NOT WHEN INDEPENDENCE COMES, BUT HOW IT COMES." IN EFFECT, NUJOMA HAS MADE HIS MIND UP THAT SOUTH AFRICAN CAN BE DRIVEN OUT OF NAMIBIA AND SINCE HE IS PERSUADED THAT THIS IS THE CASE, HE IS NOW INTERESTED IN HOW HE AND SWAPO CAN IMPOSE THEIR DISCIPLINE ON THE DIVIDED PEOPLES OF NAMIBIA. SECOND, NUJOMA IS THINKING ABOUT HOW HE CAN CONFRONT THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND FORCE THEM TO GIVE UP WALVIS BAY. THIRD, NUJOMA HAS DECIDED HE WILL HAVE TO FACE THE SOUTH AFRICANS ON THE SOUTHERN BORDER. SOVIET ARMS AND CUBAN TROOPS MAY BE NECESSARY FOR ALL THREE PURPOSES.

3. ACCORDING TO CHONA, KAUNDA FEELS THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN REFINING THEIR PLANNING FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA. THEY BELIEVE THAT GENEVA IS DOOMED AND CAN ONCE AGAIN LOOK TO DEVELOPING A TRANSCONTINENTAL BLOCK, WHICH WILL INCLUDE ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZIMBABWE. CHONA WAS GLOOMY ABOUT ZAMBIA'S FUTURE WHEN FACED WITH THESE PRESSURES. IF THE WAR GOES ON IN ZIMBABWE AND SMITH BEGINS TO MOVE INTO ZAMBIA, THE ZAMBIANS WILL HAVE TO CALL FOR ARMS. THEY KNOW THEY CAN GET NO HELP FROM THE US OR GREAT BRITAIN AND WILL HAVE

TO TURN TO THE SOVIETS. UNDER NO CONDITIONS CAN KAUNDA REPHRASE HIS SUPPORT TO THE NATIONALISTS AS THEY BEGIN TO CARRY THE STRUGGLE FROM ZAMBIA INTO RHODESIA.

4. THE SOVIETS ARE MOVING NOW, SAID CHONA. HIS GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN INFORMED THAT A VERY HIGH RANKING SOVIET OFFICIAL WILL VISIT EAST AND WEST AFRICA IN JANUARY. CHONA UNDERSTANDS THE VISITOR MAY BE PODGORNYY. THE SOVIET'S VISIT MAY BEGIN IN ANGOLA OR WEST AFRICA BUT IT WILL CONTINUE INTO MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA AND  
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ZAMBIA. KAUNDA WILL HAVE TO RECEIVE HIM. DURING THE SOVIET'S VISIT, CHONA FELT THERE WOULD BE MAJOR ANNOUNCEMENTS OF SOVIET ASSISTANCE. MACHEL, CHONA SAID, IS DELIGHTED BY SOME OF THE RECENT AND MORE SOPHISTICATED FORMS OF SOVIET ARMS WHICH HE HAS RECEIVED AND WANTS MORE. (CHONA CALLED ME AFTER OUR MEETING TO SAY THAT THE VISIT OF THE SOVIET IS "IN THE PLANNING PHASE" AND HE SIMPLY WANTED TO ALERT US TO THE PLAN SO

THAT WE COULD CHECK OUR OWN SOURCES).

5. RETURNING TO NAMIBIA, CHONA DISPAIRED OF ANY REASONABLE POSSIBILITIES OF CATCHING NUMOMA'S ATTENTION. THERE ARE EVEN MEMBERS OF HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHO, "BECAUSE OF THE LONG DELAY" HAVE BEEN CAUGHT UP IN THE HEROICS OF NUJOMA'S EXERCISE. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT WALDHEIM COULD INVITE NUJOMA TO NEW YORK AND SAY THAT THE UN IS PREPARED TO CONVENE THE CONFERENCE. IN ORDER TO GET OVER NUJOMA'S POINT THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE PRESENT, WALDHEIM MIGHT ARGUE THAT SINCE THE UN IS THE LEGAL AUTHORITY IN NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA IS ILLEGAL, THE UN CANNOT INVITE SOUTH AFRICA TO BE PRESENT IN THE NAMIBIAN CONFERENCE HALL. IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL FOR WALDHEIM TO SAY THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS SQUARELY UNDER UN AUTHORITY IF HIS ARGUMENTS WERE TO CARRY ANY WEIGHT. IN ANY EVENT, CHONA WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT NUJOMA WOULD AGREE. A MORE USEFUL APPROACH, HE FELT, COULD BE UNDERTAKEN ONCE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS OVER AND ON THE CONDITION THAT IT IS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED. NYERERE AND KAUNDA WOULD BE ABLE TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITHIN AFRICA AND WITH NUJOMA AND HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE DIRECTLY TO SAY THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CAN BE SUCCESSFUL. IF GENEVA FAILS, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENTS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO STEER NUJOMA IN A MORE MODERATE DIRECTION. TO SAVE GENEVA, IT IS ESSENTIAL, HE SAID, THAT THE BRITISH MAKE A DRAMATIC MOVE NOW, DECLARE THEIR INTENTION TO REPLACE THE COUNCIL OF STATE WITH A BRITISH PRESENCE AND SKILLFULLY MANAGE THE CONFERENCE TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION BEFORE DEC 20.

6. CHONA WAS CRITICAL OF RICHARD AND GRENNAN, IN  
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PARTICULAR, AND FELT THAT THE WAY THAT THEY WERE CONDUCTING THEMSELVES WAS LEADING THE NATIONALISTS TO CONCLUDE THEY AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WERE NOT PREPARED TO TAKE A TOUGH DECISION. CHONA HAD BEEN ON THE PHONE TO MAJOR FIGURES IN THE CONSERVATIVE HIERARCHY URGING THEM TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE LABOR GOVERNMENT. HE HAD REMINDED THE CONSERVATIVES OF THE SOVIET THREAT, CHONA NOTED THAT IF THE CONFERENCE BREAKS UP ON DEC 20 WITHOUT A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME, THE NATIONALISTS WILL EITHER NOT RETURN TO GENEVA OR THOSE WHO COME BACK WILL PRESS IMPOSSIBLE NEW DEMANDS. A BRITISH SUBSTITUTE FOR THE COUNCIL OF STATE WILL NO LONGER SUCCESSFULLY CARRY THE DAY. ONCE THE NATIONALISTS REACH LUSAKA, THE ACTIVE "KGB" SOVIET AMBASSADOR WILL BRING HIS FULL INFLUENCE TO BEAR. HE WILL REMIND THE NATIONALISTS THAT

IF THEY WAIT A BIT LONGER THEIR FONDEST DREAMS WILL BE  
FULFILLED DURING THE VISIT OF THE SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIALS.

7. CHONA REPLAYED HIS WELL-WORN ARGUMENTS ON POWER  
SHARING. I ASSURED HIM THAT HIS ARGUMENTS HAD BEEN  
FULLY REPORTED TO WASHINGTON AND HE SEEMED RELIEVED.  
NEVERTHELESS, HE ARGUED, IF A DECISION DOES NOT COME  
WITHIN THE WEEK, GENEVA IS HEADED FOR A DISASTER AND  
NAMIBIA WILL GO DOWN AS WELL.

8. EVEN THOUGH CHONA IS MARSHALLING EVERY ARGUMENT TO  
WIN OUR SUPPORT FOR HIS VIEW OF POWER SHARING BY CITING  
THE SOVIET THREAT, HE CONVINCED ME HE WAS REPORTING  
KAUNDA'S VIEWS AND CONCERNS AS WELL. NUJOMA'S  
UNWILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO LUSAKA, HIS PROLONGED STAY  
IN LUANDA, SWAPO-MPLA COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA  
(WHICH CHONA CONFIRMED) LEAD ME TO CONCLUDE THAT HIS  
ESTIMATE OF SOVIET INTENTIONS NEEDS TO BE TAKEN  
SERIOUSLY. CATTO UNQTE KISSINGER

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